2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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head covered. Should anyone cut his hair, unless it be on the occasion of a death, misfortune will follow; either he himself or some of his near relations will die soon after it. So have the gods taught. Let all therefore beware."

Another legend runs thus: "In ancient times, when the Divine One came down from heaven to teach the people, he said: 'Let any woman whose husband dies cut and pluck her hair out and look very miserable. Let her also wear a hood upon her head. If she does not look sad and remain apart from other people, someone might want to marry her and that would be a very bad thing to do. No widow should allow her hair to grow long again, nor should anyone who has lost a husband or wife remarry. This is because husbands and wives rejoin one another in the world beyond the grave.'" So taught Aeoina the Divine. But, although superstitions die hard, the barber has now come in, so that this one respecting the hair is rapidly disappearing, for both young men and women now dress their hair in foreign fashion.

Apropos of this matter, it is very interesting to remark that it is reported how Satan himself once preached a sermon from the pulpit of North Berwick Church, in which he comforted his many servants by telling them that so long as their hair was on, no harm could come to them!

But speaking more particularly to the point of the general appearance of this people—one friend said to me when visiting them, "How very like the Japanese some of them are! Look at those children! Why, I see no difference between them and the Japanese boys and girls playing with them!" But this, I pointed out, was not at all to be wondered at, considering what we know about child adoption and intermarriage. Of course they resemble one another, as we find them doing throughout the whole of Japan. Adoption of Japanese children has in past ages been one great way

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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764 184 In Saghalien, however, the Ainu do bury in coffins. I got this information first from old Chief Penri, in this way. He told me he and his friends, Bright and Kanturuka, once went to Saghalien to visit the Ainu there. One day he wandered off alone into the forest and happened upon a nicely carved box with a roof to it sticking half out of the ground. He was sure it was a treasure box. He returned and told his friends about his find and they determined to go at night and take the treasure for themselves. So they went, taking an axe with them. "But," he said, "on opening the box, "we found nothing but a corpse inside." I told him it served him right, for he had no more business to attempt stealing treasure than the man who lost his nose through stealing grain out of another person's granary. He quite agreed.

764 The Ainu never mention the name of a dead person, but they never bury without placing a pole at the foot of the grave to mark the spot. I have never seen any writing on any of them. Nor have I ever, till quite within recent times, heard of graves being visited by friends and relations. The grave-mark for a man is shaped like a spear, though the people themselves tell me it is intended to represent an oar. That of women is rounded at the top and has a hole through it to hold the headcloth she used to wear when living. A widow [587] was formerly supposed to marry either the younger brother of her lost husband or to remain single for life, and a widower also in theory remained single till he died, but in practice he would marry again in a year or two. Both widows and widowers wore hoods [765] to show they were in mourning, and used also to cut their hair as a proof of their sorrow. The sign of mourning was white, the same as with the Japanese.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi*: grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi*.

2 *kuchi*: grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi*.

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi*. The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi*. The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *hapo*. The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo*: uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *keushut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe*: aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama hapo*. Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference. Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur*. All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar*, *shine onaka esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur*. All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur*.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four—a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

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4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

[1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura